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Boston University Graduate

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Thesis.

The Immigrant — a Social and Economic Asset.

~~WORKERS FROM THE OLD WORLD~~.

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Submitted by

CHARLES HENRY DUTTON

(A.B. Amherst 1887, B.D. Oberlin 1910)

In partial fulfilment of the requirements for

the degree of Master of Arts.

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1914.

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Immigration and emigration

Apologia.

The reading and study involved in the gathering of the materials for this thesis, was done in large part in the Public Libraries of Cleveland, Ohio, and the College Library at Oberlin, Ohio in the winter of 1912-1913. In gathering this material, I had in mind a lecture on the subject: "The Melting Pot". This lecture was prepared and given under the auspices of The Kane Study Club, and in the interest of The Public Library in Kane. The lecture, after dealing with "The Melting Pot" and its author Israel Zangwill took up in general the lines of thought developed somewhat more fully in this thesis. The lecture was delivered on February 18.1913. The statistics used and given, for the most part herein, were at that time the latest available.

At the time the material was gathered there was no thought, in the writer's mind, of using it for the purposes of this thesis, consequently the quotations were not noted by page, as would have been done, for an exact thesis. The quotations are believed, by the writer, to be accurate, and where special reference is made to the author to be credited to the proper writer. The articles and books are not in the writer's private library, or in our town library, for this reason these citations could not now be verified, without the expenditure of much time and money.

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Bibliography.

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Books on Immigration.

The Immigrant Problem, by J.W.Jenks and J.W.Louck.
Pub.by Funk and Wagnalls,(1912) ($1.75 Net)
This is one of the latest and most conclusive works on the subject. Its authors were members of the Federal Immigration Commission. Their book contains in condensed form the essential facts in the government report. This book was much used in gathering facts for this thesis.

Races and Immigration in America,by Prof.John R.Commons.
This is an older book and yet still good.It considers the question in its broadest aspect,and contains a chapter on Amalgamation and Assimilation. Reference is made to this book several times in the thesis.

Emigration and Immigration,by R.Mayo Smith was published in 1890 but is still unsurpassed in its discussion of the phenomena of immigration,its economic value,social effects,etc. Reference is not made directly to this volume,but many facts were gathered from it and impressions gained.

Immigration and Its Effects upon the United States,by Prescott F.Hall. This volume presents arguments in

favor of restriction.

The Broken Wall, The Immigrant Tide, On The Trail of The Immigrant, all by Prof. Edward A. Steiner are interesting and vital narratives based on personal experiences and expert first-hand knowledge of the immigrants themselves, both in their old and new homes. They reveal the difficulties incident to the mingling of the races, but take a hopeful view of the outcome. Dr. Steiner is several times quoted.

The Promised Land, by Mary Antin, ($1.75 Net) is delightful reading, and gives the experiences of this young Hebrew girl, during her childhood in Russia, and her girlhood in America. She is herself an illustration of what America and American education is doing for the immigrants.

Aliens and Americans by Prof. Howard B. Grose is an excellent handbook for mission classes and men's classes.

Imported Americans by Broughton Brandenburgh ($1.70) reports experiences among the Italians of New York City and of Italy. It has a vivid description of conditions on the steamers and at Ellis Island.

Old Homes of New Americans, by Francis E. Clark ($1.50) is an interesting account of travels in the countries from which the recent immigrants come. It is by a traveller of wide experience and with ability to observe and describe conditions as they are.

Immigrant Forces published by The Missionary Education Movement, New York, (1913) is popular and forceful, and presents facts from first-hand knowledge. The author William P. Shriver D.D. is one of the Secretaries of the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions. This book is quoted and presents facts somewhat more recent than those used in the main in the thesis.

America God's Melting Pot, by Laura Gerould Craig, (1913) Pub. by Revell, is a recent book, and has come to my hand since the lecture was written, and is quoted in the text of the thesis.

The Future of American Ideals, by Prescott F. Hall, an article in the North American Review for July, 1912, is quoted from several times.

American Ideals and Race Mixtures, by Percy S. Grant, also an Article in the North American Review, for April 1912 has been mentioned several times.

An Article in The Century for December 1913 by Prof. Edward A. Ross is worthy of mention because of its rather unfavorable presentation of facts regarding Immigration.

*** All these books and articles, besides many others, were read and furnished information for the opinions advanced and the statements made in the body of the thesis.

***** Reference should be made to the Report of The Commissioner General of Immigration for The United States, published at Washington by the government, and bringing

the statistics down to June 30, of each year . The Report for the year ending June 30.1912 was the Report used, and the latest available in Jan'y 1913, when these statistics were obtained.

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Three important books on Immigration should be mentioned in addition to those above.

The Immigrant: An Asset and a Liability, by Frederick J. Haskin. (1913)

The Immigrant Invasion, by Frank Julian Warne. Published by Dodd, Mead and Co. (1913) Dr. Warne is a student, at first-hand of the immigrant problem, being Secretary of The New York State Immigration Commission, and special expert of the National Census Bureau. Dr. Warne is strongly in favor of restriction of immigration.

The New Immigration, by Peter Roberts, published by McMillan, New York (1913) ($1.60 Net) This book is a study of the life of the Southeastern Europeans, in America, from the Industrial and Social points of view. The writer of this thesis has not read the book, but is glad to think that Dr. Roberts agrees with him in the conclusions drawn in the text of the thesis as indicated by this quotation, from the book, taken from a book review: "Those, who know the newer immigrants intimately

believe that they,as their predecessors,will make good, and that their children will be an honor to us,if the same opportunities are given to these men and thirty years of American influence are allowed to shape and mould their lives".

**** References are also given to certain articles in Munsey's Magazine. These articles were read in large part,though they are not quoted in the thesis.

The Jews in America, ---- Vol. 34.p.381

The Scotch in America--- Vol. 34.p.599

The Germans in America----Vol.34. p.694

The Scandinavians in America.V.35,p.613

The Welsh in America------Vol. 35.p.749.

The Italians in America---Vol. 35.p.122

The Dutch in America------Vol.35 p. 238

The Spanish in America----Vol. 35.p.294.

The Incoming Millions,by Howard B.Grose D.D. is a new book on this theme, Cloth, .50 Net. Revell.

Conservation of National Ideals is a Symposium. Cloth, .50 Net. Revell.

Some Immigrant Neighbors by John R.Henry. Cloth, .50 Net. Published by Revell.

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N.B. Three articles by Prof.Edward A.Ross in The Century Magazine for November and December 1913,and January 1914. These deal with the industrial,social and political results of immigration.

Thesis: Workers from The Old World.

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A Study of the Economic and Social Phases of the Immigration Problem in The United States.

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Analysis of Thesis.

Introduction.

The new workers from the old world are an impressive sight. Many writers do not take a cheerful view of the Immigration Question. This Thesis undertakes simply the question: What do these old world workers mean to America industrially and socially?

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Chapter I. The New Workers from The Old World.

We watch them at Ellis Island. Total immigration about thirty millions. Statistics show that the immigrants today come from Eastern and Southern Europe. The Slav, the Italian and the Jew form the bulk of present immigration. These laborers are backward, primitive, illiterate and unskilled. Why do they come? Various motives, for example, the profit of steamship companies, business interests and friends, economic oppression, lack of economic opportunity, the impulse of discontent, the expectation of gain, the vision of the dreamer, the impulse of pioneers and workers. Getting into the country is not easy. Two sorts of sieves to a large extent exclude the unfit. Two per cent are sent back, a large per cent, after a longer or

a shorter stay,go back voluntarily. Net increase,however,in six years equal to the total population of the American colonies at the time of the Revolution. The Jews,the Germans,the Irish stay;the Italians,the Greeks and the Magyars go back in large numbers. The demands of the labor market determine the coming and going. The per centage of foreign-born about fourteen per cent since 1860. Foreign-born and their children are about half our entire population. Forthy-seven per cent of the native white population are children of the foreign-born,and many of these have kept their foreign language and ways. Seventy-nine per cent of the population of New York and Chicago are foreign-born. Our national future largely in the hands of the peasant races of Europe.

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Chapter II. The Industrial Task.

Immigration is largely a matter of business to the immigrants,their employers,and the older employees. Legislation dealing with immigration should be based on economic considerations. Immigration should be viewed both from the employees and the employer's angle.

The employee says:The immigrant is a menace to older wage earners,on account of his lack of industrial training. Four-fifths of the immigrants are without a trade,but the American manufacturer seeks only

cheap labor and speed, and so immigrants seriously compete with the older worker. The immigrant has no bargaining power, and takes any job to get a footing. The term American wage-earner a misnomer. Three-fifths of the employees in manufacturing and mining are of foreign birth. The natives are forced out, or forced up. Poor working conditions are due to the immigrant. It is dangereous to work with him. There is some race prejudice, but animosities are at the bottom economic. The immigrant's standards of life are low. The native cannot compete. The immigrant follows the group rather than the family plan of living, and is lacking in aggressiveness. He is averse to strikes. The immigrant's coming disturbs the labor world. The point of saturation is now reached, so that restrictive legislation is now needed. Labor interests claim that restriction will result in a Democratic standard of wages and living. It is difficult to find the right restrictive measures. The literacy test is opposed by social workers, since it excludes those, for whom work waits and those most favorable to a Democracy, and does nothing to guard the country from the worst kind of immigration. Social workers and labor workers have different aims, and therefore they reach different conclusions.

Do we need the immigrant? The employer says that we do. We need him to do our necessary work and to develop our manufacturing and mining interests. He is necessary to keep wages down. Immigration brings us adults at the working age;four-fifths of immigrants are between fourteen and forty-five,and they have been reared at the expense of the home countries. Immigration brings the healthy,strong and adventurous,and they work harder than they did at home.There is an excess of men,and they are able to live more economically because they have few unproductive mouths to feed. In times of labor depression they go home and relieve labor congestion. They send and carry home money,but they also bring money with them. The employer feels that America needs immigrants because they increase his output and also his profits.

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Chapter III. The Social Transformations.

The social meaning of immigration presents two hopeful attitudes: we can assimilate the immigrants and turn them into good American citizens,or if not the mixture will be an improvement.The men of science in our colleges are hopeful. We grant that the transfer of the immigrant to America is perilous;his social props and old customs are gone;families are separated,and often the American environment is bad: yet he is making up-

ward progress. He gets new ideals, both constructive and destructive. The immigrants, who return home have a new character; they have learned the gospel of sobriety, industry and peace. There is gold in their pockets and in their teeth. Their American clothes are a symbol of their altered character. They have a new standard of living and effort.

The children of the immigrant are our greatest peril. The first generation on these shores tends to degenerate. The influence of our Public Schools. Education coming from the home and from companions moulds the character, schooling often imparts little but information. Environment and education are the tools for fashioning social character. The problem of the school is not the nature, but the nurture of the child. The home furnishes the raw material, often poor, but the product of the schools is encouraging. Motive for school attendance is often low, yet the schools help the children in the struggle for existence. Educators keep before children American ideals, and supply them with a common language the organ of common thought and action. There are significant transformations in the characters of the children in our schools. In spite of faults, the product of the schools is immensely creditable.

The immigration problem is one of distribution rather than restriction. The isolation of the foreigner in congested foreign settlements in our towns and cities is the worst feature of the whole problem. The immigrant is thus kept apart from Americanizing influences,and yet assimilation is going on rapidly. Environment changes the character of people. Causes for crime being removed,crime ceases. The immigrant's status is due to his social conditions. Assimilation to American ways is promising much for the future.

The admixture of races by inter-marriage is not to be feared. There are no pure races existing.Racial marks are being obliterated. The failure of racial admixture in Austria-Hungary is due to economic and political inequality. There is reason to think we can blend these same stocks in America. The physical qualities in these races are excellent. We need the blood of men fresh from the soil to replenish our stock.

The Scotch-Irish show successful race amalgamation and indicate what may be expected of the new American race.If we mingle all the virtues of these races we shall produce a splendid race. God is sifting the nations and planting the sifted wheat on American soil.

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WORKERS FROM THE OLD WORLD.

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A Study of the Economic and Social Phases of the Immigration Problem, in the United States of America.

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Every visitor to Ellis Island may not agree with Mr. Percy S. Grant, who says: "The most impressive sight in America is the stream of immigrants coming off ship at Ellis Island";(1) but no American, who visits Ellis Island, even in imagination, can fail to be impressed with the sight of these new workers from the old world, as they pour into our country. We have much to hope for and much to gain from Immigration, but there is in it also serious menace for our future. Mr. Prescott F. Hall, President of The Immigration Restriction League well says: "Our optimism should not go blind".(2)

Many thinkers and writers do not take a cheerful view of the immigration question. It is said that the selfcomplacency of the average American, on this subject, is the worst feature of the whole problem. The English sparrow and the gipsy-moth were not considered dangerous, when they were first imported, but their multiplica-

(1) North American Review, April 1912, Art. American Ideals and Race Mixtures. (2) Ibid, July, Art. "The Future of American Ideals".

tion has done serious damage. The history of the Jukes family shows what harm a single pair of defectives can do. There is a vast difference between a hostile and a peaceful invasion of a country. The peaceful invasion seems less dangerous,but history shows that this is not true. Hall says: " It has been the peaceful invasions, which have undermined and changed the institutions of peoples". (1) Social and political institutions depend upon the type of a native citizenship and are moulded by it. Ruskin long ago observed,that the only real wealth of a country is human character. What the outcome in human character of this peaceful invasion of our country is to be remains to be seen.

There are two specially significant phases of the problem introduced by these workers from the old world. These are the economic and the social phases. There are other aspects,such as the physical,the political,the educational,the moral,the spiritual and the religious; these are important and they demand consideration,but they are by no means so fundamental as the economic and the social phases of the problem. This thesis undertakes simply the raising of this one question: What does the comigg of these workers from the old world mean to America industrially and socially?

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(1) Art. cit.

Chapter I.

The New Workers from the Old World.

We stand at Ellis Island and watch the stream of immigrants pouring from the mighty ocean steamers, that come from all parts of the world. Is there no end to the supply? How many of them are coming? Who are they? Why do they come? These are the questions that press upon one, as he watches the immense and motley throng.

Statistics are proverbially dry, yet at this point, a few statistics seem necessary. The United States Commissioner of Immigration, in his Annual Report, brings the data down to June 30. So far as possible, I have brought the statistics down to June 30.1912. These are the latest available figures. For the year ending June 30.1912, the number of immigrants admitted into this country was one million seventeen thousand one hundred and fifty five (1,017,155) (1) Our total immigration has been nearly thirty millions. No record of the immigrant arrivals was kept until 1820. It is estimated that from 1776 to 1820 approximately a quarter of a million immigrants landed on our shores.

A study of the statistics of arrivals from 1820 to 1910 shows that the largest number, twenty eight per cent (28%) came from Great Britain; that Germany

(1) Arrivals for year ending June 30.1913. are 1,427,227.
Departures for same year only 611,924 net increase, (815,303.

stands second with nineteen per cent (19%);Austria-Hungary and Italy each sent us eleven per cent (11%) ; Russia sent nine per cent (9%);Scandinavia eight per cent (8%),France two per cent (2%) and Switzerland one per cent (1%). About one third of our total immigrants, that is ten millions came before 1860,the other two-thirds or about twenty millions have come since then. (If we add the immigrants of the year ending June 30, 1913, 1,197,892,we get a little over thirty one millions,of which twenty one millions have come in the past thirty three years.) The immigration of these last thirty three years has been of a different kind than our fathers knew,and the change in its character is such as should challenge the attention of every citizen.

The sources of immigration,in the main,have shifted from Western to Eastern and Southern Europe. The statistics for 1910 and 1911 show that in these years we received immigrants in the greatest numbers from the following countries: first, Austria-Hungary, second,Italy,third Russia,fourth,Great Britain,fifth Scandinavia,sixth,Turkey,seventh,Germany. (1) The Slav, the Italian and the Jew form the bulk of our present immigration. The Slavic,Latin and Semitic races have an entirely different makeup from the Teutonic races.

(1) In year ending June 30.1913,the Italians head the list with 274,000 and that compared with their average for the last five years of 180,000. Of total Italians of past year 232,000 were South Italians.

The Slavic races differ from the Teutonic in temperament as much as do the emotional races about the Mediterranean. The Slav is impassive in temper, is not a citizen but a subject; he bears oppression patiently, shrinks from overcoming obstacles, is seldom inquisitive enough to climb over the mountains, which lock in his native village, to see what lies beyond them; though he loves music and dancing his music is of a melancholy character. Cities are rare among the Slavs; they usually live in villages, nearly all of which have common characteristics and are most dreary and common-place.

The Southern Italian is one of the most mixed races in Europe, and is partly African owing to the migration from Carthage to Italy. The peasants from the great landed estates earn less than one third of the wages of their fellow countrymen in Northern Italy. Some two millions of these Southern Italians have come to our shores in the last decade. (In addition to this over a quarter of a million came in year ending June 30, 1913. see note above.) They are the most illiterate of all recent immigrants, the most subservient to superiors, the lowest in their standards of living, and at the same time the most thrifty and industrious of common laborers. Their small stature does not argue their degeneracy. The Romans were small compared to the Goths; the Japanese too are small, but wonderfully strong and capable.

The Jews are by no means a pure race, for during their migrations into various parts of the world they have taken up almost everywhere new racial elements. "The Jew is a true cosmopolitan, readily taking on the language, customs and even modes of thought of the people with whom he makes his home. But Jewish assimilation by marriage is comparatively small; he mingles, but does not fuse". (1) These two statements are somewhat contradictory, yet both are true. The Jew, in spite of long residence in Europe and in spite of more or less intermarriage remains, as he always has been, an Asiatic. Commons says: "That which makes the Jew a peculiar people is not altogether the purity of his blood, but persecution, devotion to his religion and the careful training of his children." (2) The Jews have a high birth-rate and a low death rate, this latter being but little more than half that of the average American. The vitality of the Jew is ascribed to his "sanitary meat inspection, his sobriety, temperance and self-control". In the five years ending June 30.1912, 417,016 Jews had been admitted into the United States, and 33,315 had returned. In those five years our net gain in Jews was the second largest of any class of immigrants. Russia sends five-sixths of the Jewish immigrants and Austria-Hungary the remaining one sixth.

(1) America God's Melting-Pot, Craig, p, 32.

(2) Races and Immigrants in America, John R. Commons.

Our new immigrants come from catholic and monarchical countries. These people belong mostly to the peasant class,and indeed to a peasantry scarcely a generation removed from serfdom. They are backward,primitive,illiterate;they know only hand industries and belong to the class of agricultural or unskilled laborers. They lack initiative and are entirely untrained in self-government.They bring with them a widely different inheritance of political and social ideas,and a training under social and political institutions very different from our own. Their languages,religion,dress and ideas are thoroughly unamerican. John R.Commons says: " The peasants of Catholic Europe,which constitute the bulk of our immigration of the past thirty years have become almost a distinct race,drained of those superior qualities,which are the foundation of democratic institutions". (1) These are strong words,and not lightly to be set aside. Mr.Prescott F.Hall says:" Our present immigrants are the defective and delinquent classes of Europe,the individuals,who have not been able to keep the pace at home and have fallen into the lower strata of civilization". (2) Such utterances may well make us pause.Into our life already composite with every Teutonic and Celtic strain are coming these Slavic,Latin and Semitic peoples presenting new difficulties,new opportunities, and new possibilities of accomplishment.

(1) Op. Cit. (2) Article Cit.

Naturally we ask: Why do these folk come to America? The motives for immigration are to be sought not alone in the heart of the immigrant himself. Not all immigration is due to the initiative of the immigrant. Various motives have always worked together. Much of the immigration to this country is an induced immigration. The ship owners of Europe, together with the speculators and employers of America are responsible for a considerable part of it. The advertizing schemes of steamship and land companies allure the immigrant. It is said that labor speculators, in spite of the contract labor law, have perfected a system of inducements and through billing, as effective as that by which horse and cattle buyers in Iowa and Kentucky forward their living freight to the markets of Europe. A desire to take in passenger fares, to sell land, and to get cheap labor have brought hosts of foreigners to America. Two thirds of the immigrants in recent years have come on prepaid tickets, or with money furnished by relatives and friends in this country, who have an interest in their coming. This interest is frequently the strong and natural interest of kinship, but sometimes it is due to financial motives, and results in the exploitation of the immigrant. The stream of immigrants is turned into American channels because it is to the advantage of steamship companies,

of business interests and of friends that the immigrant should find his way hither. The immigrant comes to America because someone wants him here.

The early immigrants came because of religious persecution;conscience moved them. They were driven forth to seek new homes in America.There are causes today that are driving the immigrants out of their old homes.Sometimes it is the oppression of a dominant race,sometimes that of a dominant class. Economic injustice and economic distress are common in the countries from which the majority of the immigrants now come.The oppression is not so much political or religious as economic.This is sometimes due to heavy taxation,sometimes to the oppression of the landlords and the moneyed interests.

In Russia,the Germans,the Finns,the Jews,the Poles and the Lithuanians are escaping from the oppression of the Slav.In Austria-Hungary the Slav is fleeing from the rule of the Magyars.Race discrimination and landlordism blight Austria-Hungary.Strangely enough the Magyars,though the dominant race,are being financially elbowed out of their land by the Jews,and so the Magyar himself is coming to the United States. In Southern Italy the power of the landlords is very great and rents are forced up to the highest notch.Poverty presses upon the unprivileged classes and drives the more adventurous across the water.

The rapid growth of population, resulting in overpopulation also has much to do with immigration. The very poverty of Italy increases the tendency to a high birth rate. Early marriages and large families are both a result and a cause of poverty. Where illiteracy and poverty are the greatest the birth rate is the highest. The largest number of children are born among ignorant and low standard peoples. For many years to come, Italy will furnish a surplus population to over-run America. The birth rate too in Hungary is large, though child mortality is also great, two fifths of the children dying under the age of five, and yet poverty, ignorance, inequality and helplessness produce a seeming overpopulation. Poverty, sometimes even famine, presses upon these Italian and Hungarian peasants and compels them to seek a new land, and a better chance to make a living for themselves and their families.

The impulse of discontent drives some. They do not accept the prevailing social order as fixed, and hope to better their condition socially by moving to a new country. The social position of the day laborer in Austria-Hungary is immeasurably inferior to that of a peasant. The immigrant seeks economic opportunity and social upliftment. He comes in search of those things for which America stands. He is attracted by our government, by op-

portunities for education,enrichment and progress.This desire for life in our land indicates his common-sense, and is a hopeful sign of his fitness for citizenship.

Some of these immigrants are dreamers of dreams. They hope by thrift,industry and self-denying economy to carry to success some cherished plan.They see themselves higher up in the scale of life,than is possible in the homeland. Many of them do not come expecting to stay, but hope to return to their native countries rich enough to live on higher levels,but conditions hold them and they learn to love America. Someone has said,and with truth:"They come because of what America give them,not because of what they can give America". This is simply to say that they come as pioneers and workers,not as philanthropists,and this is a thoroughly normal and wholesome motive.

It is not an easy thing to get into this country unless the immigrant belongs to the class of people counted fit for citizenship. The United States refuses to receive imbeciles,paupers,criminals,contract laborers, those having contagious diseases and the insane. The steamship companies are compelled,at their own expense, to take back the rejected. This means that they are very careful,on the other side,whom they book as passengers. At Bremen,for example there are splendid facilities for

taking care of the applicants, who seek passage. They are carefully examined, thoroughly disinfected and made perfectly clean before they are allowed on the outgoing ship. The steamship companies are thoroughly aware that it is to their interest not to take to the United States any except those who are likely to be admitted. At the gate at Ellis Island through which the immigrant must pass stands the United States Commissioner of Immigration, who sends back about one in fifty of the immigrants seeking admission. Through these two sorts of sieves the incoming mass of immigrants must pass, before they land on our shores. Thus the unfit are to a large extent kept out.

Many immigrants are kept out of the country, but, after a longer or a shorter stay in America many of them go back of their own accord. About two per cent are kept out, but, in the natural course of events, about fifty per cent return to their native lands. Many speakers and writers fail to notice this important fact. While last year, and for perhaps a dozen years, the incoming stream of immigrants has been approximately a million, the outgoing stream has been more than half a million. I have the figures for the years 1908 to 1912. In these five years 2,629,145 returned to their old homes. In the same five years the net increase in our population from immigrants

was 2,485,277. In other words more returned home each year than remained in this country;yet,even taking this into account,the situation is serious enough. The net increase in population from immigration,for say a dozen years back has been approximately six millions. The net increase of immigrant aliens for 1912 was 504,910. (1) To put it vividly,in the past six years alone the net increase in population from immigration has been equal to the population of the thirteen American colonies,at the time they gained their independence.

It is,perhaps,worth our while to watch the ebbing stream that we may see who go back. There are not many Jews among them. The Jew brings his family and comes to stay.The German too is likely to stay. Dr.William P.Shriver says:"In five years the number of Magyars leaving was equivalent to seventy per cent of those admitted. The Irishman is more stable in his ways,and evidently comes determined to cast in his lot with us,for with one hundred and eighty thousand entering the states in five years,the equivalent of only eight (2) per cent sailed away. And in view of the emphasis being laid on the so-called New Immigration,it may not be amiss to note that the net immigration from the British Isles in the five years exceeded four hundred thousand,as compared with five hundred and thirty-three thousand net from Austria-Hungary". (3)

*** (1)Net increase for 1913 indicates,that the per cent of returning immigrants is much smaller,that increase being 815,303 and the net increase from July 1.1913. to Oct.31,1913 is 402,706.
(2)Interesting fact that more females than males come from Ireland This is true of no other nation.The Irish girl comes to be a servant. (3) William P.Shriver,Immigrant Forces,p.48.

The Italians, the Greeks and the Turks return in large numbers. They come over without their families and are quite apt to return when any depression in the labor market occurs, or when they have saved a little money; in fact they go back and forth according to the demand of the labor market. Dr. Shriver says: "The Italians find it easy to ship from New York to Naples and to make the return to sunny Italy in our bleak winter weather when outside work is slack. The number leaving being equal to fifty-five per cent (55%) of those admitted". (1) The returning Chinese and Japanese are so nearly equal to those coming that in the two years 1910 and 1911 the net increase of Chinese was only 1,395 and that of Japanese only 1,277. This indicates little reason to fear the so-called "yellow peril".

The percentage of foreign born living in the United States at any one time has not materially changed since 1860. Approximately fourteen per cent (14%) of our population is foreign born. This does not seem to be a very serious per-centage of foreign stock, but when we discover that forty seven per cent (47%) of all our native white population are the children of the foreigner, the situation assumes a different aspect.

The foreign born and their children of the first generation constitute a trifle less than half of our en-

(1) Op. Cit. p. 48.

tire population. Our population, according to the census of 1910 was 91,972,266, Ten millions and a quarter are other than white. About forty-five and a half millions (45,486,462) are the foreign born and their children of the first generation. Excluding the native born children of foreigners this leaves of native born and their children, the original stock, but thirty-six millions and a quarter (36,246,225). It is to be remembered also that many of these are of foreign stocks in the third, fourth and fifth generations, that is the grand children and great grand children of foreigners. And a considerable number of these have kept their foreign languages and their foreign ways. It is evident that this nation is largely a foreign nation. If the nine million negroes (Negroes, Indians and Asiatics comprise a total of 10,233,579) and the forty-five and a half millions of foreign born and their children are to be assimilated and made into genuine Americans this nation has a gigantic task to perform; the task is still greater, if they are not assimilated, and the problems they force upon us are still more complex and puzzling.

According to the census of 1900 out of one hundred and sixty cities in the United States having a population of at least twenty-five thousand, twenty-six per cent of the inhabitants were foreign born (26%). In twen-

ty three other cities of twenty-five thousand or more than half the voting population were foreign born. (1) In New York City fifty-five per cent (55%) of the voting males are foreign born. Sixty-six languages are spoken in New York City. While three and a third per cent of the population of the city of London and eight and one-third per cent of the population of Paris are foreign born, seventy-nine per cent (79%) of the population of New York and Chicago are foreign born; that is only twenty-one per cent (21%) of the population of these controlling cities of America are native born. Of the entire population of Fall River, Mass. all but fourteen per cent are foreign born, and all but seventeen per cent of the population of Milwaukee, Wis. are foreign born. This vast and varied multitude, ignorant of our language, our social structure, our democratic institutions and our national ideals are an impressive spectacle, and present problems that no lover of America can consider lightly or deem easy of solution. Our national future seems to be largely in the hands of the peasant races of Europe.

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(1) The fact that in this country these people have, or may have voting rights makes the problem greater, since they are to be raised to new standards by forces resident, to an extent, within themselves. The backward races may defeat their own progress and that of the natives.

Chapter II.

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The Industrial Task.

Immigration today is fundamentally a matter of business. The immigrant comes for business reasons. The employer favors his coming for business reasons. The employee does not favor his coming for business reasons. There is a persistent relation between immigration and the industrial prosperity or depression of the country. The law of supply and demand in the labor market determines the size of the stream of incoming and outgoing aliens. The problems of immigration are essentially business problems and labor problems. The United States Immigration Commission concludes that further general legislation regarding immigration should be based primarily upon economic or business considerations.

From a business point of view there are two ways of looking at immigration, that of the employer and that of the employee, or that of the production of wealth and that of the distribution of wealth. The opinions of the employers of labor will be apt to be different from those of the laborers themselves. A fair understanding of the matter demands consideration of both view points.

From the point of view of labor, the real significance of recent immigration is to be found in its effects upon the native Americans and the older immigrant wage earners. The recent immigrant is a menace to these older wage earners on account of his lack of industrial training. He is found on the lowest level of the industrial scale. Our immigration of today is that of primitive folk seeking labor in the industrial centers. A recent German writer has said: " The immigration of the last decade has increased the number of hands, but not the number of heads in the United States".

A very large per cent of our present immigrants are unskilled laborers. It is said that four fifths of the total arrivals in this country are without a trade or a means of livelihood. Even the skilled laborers do not represent the highest skill of the countries from which they come, for only those, who cannot command good situations at home are likely to seek their fortunes abroad. In 1903 only fourteen per cent (14%) of the immigrants admitted were skilled laborers. Ten and six tenths (10.6%) were farm laborers; ten and eight tenths per cent were domestic servants (10.8%); thirty seven and four tenths per cent (37.4%) were laborers; twenty-three and eight tenths per cent (23.8%) were without occupation, and there were two and five tenths per cent (2.5%) classed as "other" . Only from three to five per cent of

the Ruthenians, Croatians, Rumanians and Slovaks are skilled, and eight to ten per cent of the Magyars, Lithuanians and Poles. Twenty per cent of the North Italians and sixteen and two thirds per cent (16.66%) of the South Italians are skilled laborers.

Our American manufacturers are looking, not so much for skill, as for cheap labor and speed. American industries are demanding not all-around mechanics, but laborers, who can do one simple thing. The element of skill is constantly being eliminated by the introduction of machinery. This means the decrease of occupations requiring training and experience, and makes it possible for these peasant people to enter actively into industrial occupations for which they have had no training or experience. They not only find employment, but are eagerly sought by many manufacturers. The effect upon the working masses is very marked and serious.

The immigrant has no bargaining power, on his arrival in this country. He needs work immediately and is often willing to take anything that offers, and at any wage offered that he may get a foothold. This means first of all low wages. It has been very truly remarked: "So long as every rise in wages in this country operates simply to draw in unskilled labor from the inexhaustable supply, at starvation level in the old world, we shall never raise wages in this country very high". The older employee comes into competition with the new-comer, and

since, on account of his higher standards of living, he cannot compete with him, the old employee is displaced.

Prof. Commons says: "The future of America is the future of the American wage-earner". (1) The term American wage-earner is rapidly becoming a misnomer. Three-fifths of the employees of the principal branches of manufacturing and mining in the United States at this time, are of foreign birth and from one third to one half of them come from Southern and Eastern Europe; they are principally the representatives of North and South Italy, the Poles, the Croatians, Lithuanians, Russians, Portuguese, Slovenians, Russian and other Hebrews. It is true that about one fifth of the total number of wage earners were born in this country, but their fathers were born abroad. In many of our industries the proportion of employees of foreign birth ranges as high as seventy-five per cent. Less than twenty per cent of the entire operating force of our mines and manufacturing establishments are native Americans. Among bitumenous coal and iron workers less than one tenth are native. This means a corresponding falling off in the number of native workers, for while the industries have grown in size and demand more workers, the demand has not been such as to hold the original workers. In many occupations and industries the original employees are entirely withdrawn, or have mi-

(1) Op. Cit.

grated to other sections. This has often resulted in great economic loss to the native workers.

Sometimes the native has found a new occupation within the industry itself.The work becomes more highly specialized and the original worker is not forced out, but is forced up. Each group driven from the lower and coarser tasks has risen from mine to shop,from shop to store,and from store to many avenues of business and professional life. As the immigrant rises in the scale the small farmer,contractor or merchant feels his competition and begins to join in the measures for protection. "The industry of the Slav is not confined to mines and mills;twenty-six states report Slavic farmers,Bohemians and Poles in majority. The 1910 census shows nearly fifty four per cent (54%) of foreign bread-winners engaged in agriculture,the Germans being most important from the standpoint of numbers and success.More than half the Norwegians are farmers,the Swedes have a larger per centage engaged in manufacture and mining". (1) In the mine,in the mill and on the land the native is being rapidly displaced by the worker from the old world. It is the competitive struggle for standards of living. The progress toward higher standards is of course a gain for the native worker,when he is forced up,yet there is often no gain in wages,since he must perform the more skillful labor at the old wage.

(1) "America God's Melting-Pot" Craig,p29.

Poor working conditions are a result of the immigrant's arrival and competition. The immigrant does not know that anything is possible in the way of bettered working conditions. He has not worked long enough under these conditions to realize their evil and dangerous character, or to think of ways in which they could be improved, and if he had, he is so anxious to get the work, that he is willing to take it under any existing conditions. This means a long retardment in the improvement of working conditions. Assimilation to the American standards of work and working conditions is slow. The competition of the immigrant means the continued exposure of employees to unsafe and unsanitary working conditions. (1)

There are, besides, labor irritations due to the danger of working with the inexperienced immigrant, whose industrial efficiency is slowly developed owing to his illiteracy and his inability to speak English. Certain irritations are due to race prejudice; but it is interesting to note, that while the antagonisms of labor seem often to be racial, they are not really so. It has been shown, for instance, that the Jews have desired to have the competition of labor reduced, and have favored the exclusion of their own race on this ground. Race antagonisms occur on the same competitive level. What appear often to be ra-

(1) Cf. Races and Immigrants in America, by Commons, and The Immigrant Problem, by Jenks and Louck.

cial, religious and social animosities are, at bottom, economic.

Another menace of the immigrant consists in his low standards of living. He is willing to accept a wage on which physical existence is perhaps possible, but not real life. The immigrant wage earner eighteen years of age and over averages yearly to earn only $455. and families of immigrants only $704. Some of the races of Southern and Eastern Europe average even less. They cannot live on a very high scale on this meagre income. The average immigrant does not spend more than fifteen dollars per month for living expenses, and many of them manage to live on even less. Frugality, as well as industry, has been forced upon the Italians in their own country, by economic conditions. The same thing is true of the Hungarians, the Slovaks, the Bulgarians and the Jews. The wages paid in this country do not make possible any immediate improvement in living conditions, consequently assimilation to American standards of living is slow.

Immigrant workers follow the group plan of living. The stag boarding house is usual. Fifteen to twenty men live in a few rooms, cook their own meals, do their own washing and what cleaning they can. Beds are run in double shifts. There are but few women among them. Sometimes the boarding house boss has a wife, who does the

cooking and the housework. They succeed in this way in reducing living expenses far below that possible to men, who follow the family plan of living, and make it impossible for the native worker to compete with them.

Another menace of the immigrant from Southern and Eastern Europe is his tractability and lack of aggressiveness. He is averse to strikes and to joining the labor unions. This means a general weakening of the influence and power of the labor organizations, as against the employers, and its consequent low wages and poor working conditions. The Slovaks and the Poles, in general the people called "The Hunkies" are among the most patient people, who come to our shores. No animal ever took his burden more patiently than the Slovak does his. Such a thing as rebellion he does not know. In our strikes he is a very convenient scape-goat and is not seldom led as a sheep to deeds, whose consequences he has not measered.

It has been found impossible to assimilate, into the labor world, these new workers from across the seas, without serious disturbance to that world. Their education to American standards of living, of compensation, of efficiency and of conditions of employment is very slow. It is claimed that the point of complete saturation has been reached in the employment of recent immigrants in

manufacturing and in mining. Since it is impossible to assimilate foreign populations in unlimited quantities, and since it is becoming increasingly difficult to assimilate them at all, as each layer of immigration comes into contact with American ideals at an increasingly greater remove, it is insisted by many students of immigration, that the United States must in some way restrict immigration.

Opposition to immigration is from the labor side. It indicates a true insight into the immigrant problem. We are told that restriction of immigration means the establishment of a democratic standard of wages and living, and the permeation of the mass of immigrants with American ideals. The Immigration Commission has attempted to fix a standard of civilization, to secure facts, to measure the influence of these facts upon the standard, and, if immigration is found to be affecting that standard unfavorably, to suggest measures governmental or social to remedy it. One of these Commissioners, Mr. Louck says: "By the adoption of restrictive measures it was thought that the number of unskilled laborers annually entering this country could be limited to a point where their absorption into our industrial system would be possible, without injury to or retarding of the natural progress of the native American and the older immigrant wage-

earner. To accomplish this end is really the immigrant problem". (1) The main reason for restriction seems to be that the labor supply may be checked. It is a sort of a tariff for the protection of the American working man, but it is not easy to determine what sort of a tariff to impose. The exclusion of races does not seem to comport with our American ideals. A large head tax or the possession of twenty-five dollars has been suggested. "It is interesting to note" says Mr. Louck, "that the greatest number of labor leaders, either tacitly or openly stand for a liberal immigration policy" (1) One wonders just what this means; for, the interesting thing about these economic struggles is frequently the advantage that third parties to the struggle gain.

The difficulty with restriction arises, as was indicated above, when we ask: How shall we restrict immigration? There seem to be no accepted standards other than health or literacy. Sentiment, perhaps, should play but a small part in determining our attitude toward the immigration of the present day. Few of the recent arrivals are compelled to come to the United States because of political or religious oppression. Some of the Hebrews, Poles and Finns from Russia, and the Bulgarians and Macedonians, from what was Turkey, have come to this country because of political or religious persecution or oppression in their native countries; and many of the Germans

(1). Op. Cit.

have come to escape military service .It is true that many immigrants come because of economic distress and oppression,yet most of them come because of the fact that in America they are given industrial opportunity.It has been truly said:"They will continue to come until the opportunities at home are appreciably nearer those they find in the strange land". The least desirable classes are at present excluded,that is "the insane,the feeble-minded,convicted criminals,white slaves,the physically unfit to a limited extent and those likely to become public charges".There are physical and moral tests already in use.

The most practical further restrictive measure seems to be the literacy test. Illiteracy is one of the serious facts that confronts us.About twenty-five per cent (25%) of the persons over fourteen years of age,who come to us,can neither read nor write. This means about a quarter of a million a year."The Portuguese are the most illiterate at entry,followed in order by the Turkish,Syrians,Ruiheniams,South Italians and Albanians;from one half to one third of these cannot read and write" (1) Many social thinkers and workers oppose the literacy test. Jane Addams says:"Illiteracy is the one defect most easily remedied.Literacy is not a test of character or ability.It will work in favor of the man from the city and against the man from the country.There is work wait-

(1) America God's Melting-Pot,p34.

ing for the peasant, whom this test would exclude, but there is not work waiting for the educated man. Illiterate immigrants rise, but the highly educated foreigner often deteriorates". This test would exclude about forty-two and eight tenths per cent (42.8%) of the immigrants from Southern Italy and thirty--two per cent (32%) of those from Southern and Eastern Europe. These peasants, as a result of isolation and lack of opportunity are backward, but they are not of inferior stock. The race capacity for development is still there. Most of these folk come from small towns and rural districts, not from the cities. The criminal classes come from the cities and are usually the best educated. The Outlook for January 1.1913 said: "The proposed literacy tests will do nothing to guard this country from the worst kind of immigration". The literacy tests exclude those elements of old world society that are the most favorable to Democracy and admit those least favorable. (Since these words were written, Congress passed restrictive measures based upon these literacy tests, but they were vetoed by President Taft, and so failed to become law.)

One suspects that, the social workers and the labor workers see things from different angles, because they have different aims. It may be that, from the laboring man's point of view, the literacy test would keep

out the lowest levels of competition,but as Jane Addams says:"There is work waiting for these people".It is time that we asked ourselves if this fact is not one to reckon with. There may be real need of these folk,who can for a time content themselves with low wages and with low standards of labor and of living,standards below those possible to the native working man.

We will now consider these workers from the old world,from the employer's angle. The employer tells us that our necessary work cannot be done without these foreigners,who stand ready to do the hard and dirty work of the labor world. The nationality of the ditch diggers and in general that of the unskilled laborers has changed. The native has given place to the Irishman,the Irishman to the Italian,and the Italian is giving place to the Slav. Our undeveloped wealth,too,makes a constant appeal for strong arms and for hard workers. Mr.Louck says: "It is not until the economic or industrial effects of immigration are considered that the real significance of the influx of Southern and Eastern Europeans is manifest".(1) The remarkable expansion in all manufacturing and mining interests of the past thirty years,we owe to these primitive folk.Our present industrial development would have been impossible without the Italian,the Slav and the Magyar.

(1) Op.Cit.

Immigrants are necessary to keep wages down, and to encourage enterprises dependent upon low-priced labor. The employer insists that the law of supply and demand works here, and urges that employers must use immigrant labor or delay industrial advancement. He says: "The employment of Southern and Eastern Europeans is due primarily to the inability of the manufacturers and mine operators to secure other labor, at the same wages, in the face of the growing labor needs of the country."

Immigration is an artificial selection of adults at the working age. Immigrants come to this country, for the most part, at the age of their greatest productiveness. Four fifths of them are in the prime of life, that is between fourteen and forty-five. The expense of bringing them through childhood has been borne by the countries of their birth and residence. Frederick Kupp says that the cost of bringing up a child to the age of fifteen is $562,50 in Germany and from one thousand to twelve hundred dollars in America.

Immigration brings to America the strongest, healthiest, most energetic and adventurous of the work people of Europe and Asia, and they work much harder than than they did at home. "Partly fear, partly hope make the fresh immigrant the hardest, if not the most intelligent worker in our industries". There is a large excess of men in the ranks of the immigrants. It is the workers, not the families, who seek America. These men can live more economi-

cally than the native;their standards of living are much lower,and many of them are unhampered by unproductive mouths to feed. They are either single or they have left their families behind them in countries,where the expense of living is much less than here.

The condition of the labor market in America determines the number of foreigners that come and go,so that immigration is in a constant state of flux.The foreigner during a time of labor depression,not only takes care of himself by returning to his native land where he can live more cheaply,but he also relieves the congestion of the labor market,which might result in great harm to the American workers.

It is said that the immigrants send abroad and carry home with them large sums of money.In reply it,is to be said,in the first place,that they have earned that money by hard work,and,if they carry it away with them or send it home to their families,they have given an adequate equivalent for every cent.It is further to be said that the immigrants bring money with them. In 1904 the immigrants showed twenty-one millions on arrival. This money is a direct gain to the nation.It represents savings,or the price of farms or business in the old country.This money is spent in the United States,and no equivalent has to be sent abroad,as a balance of trade.

It is easy to see that the employer desires the competition of the primitive folk from Southern and Eastern Europe. They increase his output and also his profits; and, if we consider alone the production of wealth in this country and not its distribution, it is difficult to escape the conviction that the immigrants add more to this country than do the same number of natives of equal ability. Charles Stelzle, speaking as a social worker and not as a champion of labor says: "The peril of the immigrant is for the most part a phantasy of the imagination". (1)

(1) Art. in The Christian Work and Evangelist.

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Chapter III.

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The Social Transformations.

The Pilgrims, Puritans, Huguenots, Quakers, and German Pietists certainly made history; and the Germans, Scotch, Irish and Scandinavians have made and are making history. We may expect that the recent immigrant groups will also affect our history. A recent writer has observed that, "for good or for ill, for what is better than mere good times and far worse than financial depression.....these strangers of all races and nations come and go helping to make our history and shape our destiny". (Steiner) This introduces us to the social aspect of the coming of these workers from the old world. What does immigration mean to the United States socially?

There are two hopeful attitudes. First, we can assimilate this material and turn it into good American citizens, or, second, if we cannot do this completely, and the immigrants may to some extent assimilate us, yet the product will be, possibly new, but as good, if not better than the old. It is noteworthy that the best thought and the best teaching of this country is optimistic and constructive. The men of science from our American colleges seem to hold a brief for the foreigner. They are scientific witnesses, and they do not feel that the intermingling of these races is a serious menace to our national life

and character. It is true that Ex-President Elliott of Harvard looks upon this subject pessimistically,but in striking contrast with him for their optimistic conclusions are Prof.Ripley of Harvard,Profs.Giddings and Boas of Columbia,Prof.Jenks of Cornell and Profs. Patten and Kelsey of the University of Pennsylvania. (1)

At first sight it seems a hopeless task to assimilate this motley throng of immigrants to our American life. Mr.Grant says: "Our present problem is the greatest in our history. Social amalgamation is the heroic problem of the present,with all it implies in the purification and revision of old social and political ideas, with all it demands in new sympathy outside of blood and race,and in a new willingness to forego oldtime privileges". (2)

It cannot be denied that the transfer of the immigrant to this country is accompanied by many perils. Old and good customs are needlessly abandoned.The wholesome peasant life of Europe is lost.Migration tears the immigrant away from the traditions,the routine,the social props on which he had learned to rely and throws him among strangers upon his own resources. Families are often separated for long periods. Children growing up here are apt to patronize and disobey their foreign parents. The swift pace of America breaks down some laboring people. The vicious conditions in many mining and manufacturing towns

(1) Attention is called to a pessimistic article by Prof. Edward A.Ross in The Century for December 1913.
(2) Article cit.above.

lead to drink and vice. The lure of the dollar hardens the heart. Corrupt politicians trade in the immigrant vote.

The immigrant is frequently quite unprepared for the environmental changes that he finds on his arrival in America. The low levels of citizenship into which he comes, the standards and ideals of the people of whom he hears and sees the most, in his new life, obstruct race assimilation; yet transformations seemingly impossible are taking place, both in the immigrant and the native. The following description of the effect on the Jewish immigrant is true of others than the Jews, and it is not favorable to the sort of assimilation most to be desired. "The new environment demoralizes the Jewish immigrant. The children of the orthodox easily surrender, though without any deep convictions, to the influences about them and soon despise their earlier ideals, without finding anything to take their place." Yet it is a high tribute to our immigrant population, that they so successfully resist these hostile influences and do make the upward progress, that they are making, on the whole, with surprising rapidity and success.

The new ideals are both constructive and destructive. The peasant loses his fine manners. His gain in independence means a corresponding loss in docility. The American type of mind has expressed itself, not so

much in literature and art,as in invention and achievement,and in certain social ideals. This type of character is contagious,and it is not long before the immigrant feels a new accession of energy,initiative and self-reliance.He earns higher wages and eats more nourishing food than he ever thought within reach of one in his station. His ambition is fired.He is stirred by the new tonic of actually feeling himself rising in the world. He pictures to himself a home of his own.He economizes and saves money.He sends for his friends and family,or he returns to his beloved land a person of importance.

An interesting side-light is thrown on the transformation taking place in America,by considering the effect of immigration upon the mother country. Emigration is of large economic and ethical value to the old country.It has withdrawn inefficient labor and returned some of it capable of more and better work.To a certain extent the new American environment makes new character for these people. A Slavic priest testifies: "They go there (to America) shiftless and lazy.They come back thrifty and industrious,and are rapidly taking the place of the decayed nobility.If they ever have the spirit which ventures,they must first go to America. There they learn the gospel of sobriety,industry and peace". (1) It is said that much crime was due to the uncontrolled passions and the undisciplined character of the peasantry, and that the sojourn in America has given them the power of self-control.

(1) Quoted by Dr.Steiner.

The returned immigrant brings back new habits of industry. He makes more money and he spends more money.He acts contagiously upon the life of his native people.His influence has lifted the status of the peasantry to a degree,which could not have been achieved even by a revolution. The old order changes in the old country,and the new order has been brought in by the returned immigrant. It has educated the neglected masses,lifted them to a higher standard of living,and has implanted new and vital ideals. There is more discontent,more haste,less leisure, less respect for authority and for established customs .

The open window at night is a sign that one has been to America. The immigrants bring back money;they have gold in their pockets and also in their teeth.The American dentist has contributed something to the social and ethical value of the returning immigrant.Gold in the teeth keeps the men in good health and adds to their self-respect. The Italian women value gold in the teeth for it is apt to keep husband and lovers more loyal;it renews one's youth and preserves one's charm. The returned immigrant purposely emphasizes the differences between himself and those left at home.He does everything and wears everything,which will make him look like an American.His clothes are a symbol of his altered character.They mean a new standard of living and a new standard of effort.

Mr. Charles Stelzle says: "It is the children of the foreigner, who are our greatest peril". This is a serious peril since forty-seven per cent (47%) of our native white population are the children of the foreigner. "The foreign born white boys furnish" continues Mr. Stelzle, "nearly three times as many criminals as the nativeboys of white parentage, but the American born sons of immigrant parents furnish three and a half times as many criminals as the native element, even more than the foreign born. The immigrant boy born in Europe is not so apt to become a criminal as his own brother born in America". (1) The first generation on these shores tends to degenerate. Something in their environment impels them. The loss of parental control, the personal liberty of young America, the economic independence of the immigrant's son, and the temptations of his work and play conspire to produce certain moral lapses in the children of the foreigner.

One of the most effective angencies for the assimilation of the foreigner to American life comes through the education of his children in the public schools. This is the great influence upon which we count in carrying to its completion the process of assimilation. We feel that though we may not succeed with the parents, we shall succeed with the children, and that the public schools will save the situation. Some say that we Americans make

(1) Art. in The Christian Work and Evangelist.

a fetich of education, that is, I suppose, overestimate its value. They tell us that education brings out what was in the man, and seldom puts much there which was not there before. This is the point of view of the pessimist. There is some truth in it, but it must not be given too much weight.

Undoubtedly a large part, possibly the larger part, of the child's education comes from his home and his companions, rather than from his schooling. There is a difference between education as the impartation of information and education as the moulding of character. Unless the school does actually mould character it is failing in the task of true education. The parents and companions are moulding the character, and the mere impartation of information does not and cannot educate in any true sense. This is being recognized by our schoolmen, and is being put into practice in our school systems. The home must provide the raw material for education. Race and heredity have much to do here. The raw materials are often far from the best, whether that raw material comes from the homes of immigrants or natives. The school must take what the home furnishes; its problem, however, is not the nature, but the nurture of the child. Out of these children nevertheless our schools are making a product of which they and we may well be proud; sometimes it seems as though the processes of nurture had wrought a new nature in the child.

The tools by which social character is fashion- are education and environment. Commons says: "In a Democracy race and heredity are more decisive,because the very education and environment are controlled by the very races,whom it is hoped to educate and elevate". (1) There is truth in this,but in the main our educational system is controlled by high ideals,especially in the larger centers of life.In the rural districts there is more or less truth in the contention that our schools are hampered by the votes of the district,but taken in the large our schools are teaching the home,rather than the home dictating to the school.

Outside the ranks of pure biologists students today consider environment a more important factor than heredity.The cause of race superiority says one of these students "is a physiological trait,namely climatic adaptabilty". There seems also to be a similar psychological trait,by which the individual adapts himself to his mental,moral and social environment. Racial inequality and infirmity are fundamental only to the extent that they prevent mental and moral assimilation.If we think together,we can act together. The organ of common thought and action is a common language. Our schools put the children of the foreigner into possession of this common language.They also put them into possession of the

(1) Op.Cit.

ideas and ideals that go with it.This mental inheritance of the native American he shares with the children of all races,and this possession of the best things in English thought make a lasting impression for good upon their characters.

Much is yet to be desired.The great majority of the children of the immigrant,for example,leave school early and do not get far into our thought .Some - one has said:"Immigrant children crowd our public schools because it aids them in the struggle for existence,and is usually paid for by someone else".What shall we say to this growl of the pessimist? All it indicates is the motive for school attendance ,and it may be freely granted that this is often low.The question,however,is not why they come to school,but what happens to them after they get there.It is the aim of educators to provide them with an educational environment of the most stimulating and uplifting sort and to keep American ideals constantly before them. It is worth something to have it acknowledged that the public schools do aid the children of the immigrants in the struggle for existence.

It is interesting to note,that the children of the foreigner increase in height and in weight.Even the shape of the head is changed. No one can come into touch with our educational system,and with our scholars,with-

out realizing the significant transformations effected in the character of the children. In one of our American academies the prize for the best essay was given to a young Jewess, who, after helping with the work at home, had to walk three miles to school. Her subject was "American Constitutional Law". That the prize-winner was a Jewess, and the further fact that she won the prize with an essay on "American Constitutional Law" are both rather significant. No doubt there are faults in our public schools, yet their product, is, on the whole, immensely creditable and immeasurably encouraging.

The immigrant problem is one of distribution rather than simply restriction. The immigrants are for the most part in the East. Those, who bring little money with them are tied to the sea-board, and are unable to enter occupations requiring capital. The fact that the illiterate bring the least money means that they cannot go West or South, and cannot become land owners. There is nevertheless, no manufacturing town or city in the Middle West, which is of any importance without its foreign section made up of immigrants. Throughout New England and the Middle West, in the towns and cities and mining settlements, the industrial workers from Eastern and Southern Europe are found in the congested districts in the least desirable parts of the town. The earlier immigrants and the natives have made progress and moved out. The recent immigrant

moves in, and the neighborhood becomes a foreign settlement.

The isolation of the immigrant in these foreign sections is one of the worst features of the whole problem, and one not altogether easy of solution. It means congestion and unsanitary housing, with consequent low conditions and standards of life. The undesirable conditions prevailing in congested quarters are, often, not brought about by the residents, but in spite of them. A large majority of the immigrants in cities lead a decent hard-working life in homes that are clean, though in many cases poor. Work interests and the diverse standards of living tend to keep them apart from the native, so that, not wholly by his own choice, the immigrant is segregated into a colony more or less contemptuously designated by the older citizen. The immigrant himself is naturally inclined to associate with those, who speak his own language, and who live after the foreign fashion. The foreign parochial schools and press, and the influence of immigrant churches in maintaining racial and denominational distinctions tend to keep the immigrant in isolation.

Illiteracy and ignorance are other causes of isolation. The immigrant's inability to speak English makes it more difficult for the American influences to act upon him. People, who cannot read a newspaper or be reached by words spoken in the language of the country

they live in are less easily assimilated. The ignorance of the immigrant is due often simply to his peasant origin. Among those over school age, however, illiteracy usually lasts for life. Only about a quarter of the immigrants are to be classed as illiterate. Three quarters of them are educated, and that free of expense to America.

Indifference and prejudice tend to produce isolation. It is rather amusing and decidedly suggestive to find that every race has its prejudices against every other race. Race prejudice is often irrational, inhuman and irreligious, but being a primitive instinct it defies reason, the dictates of humanity and the commandments of religion. It yields only to intelligence, civilization and sympathy.

The character of our industrial communities is very different from what it was twenty years ago, and we may rather superciliously ask: "Why are we admitting into America these people, who lower American standards and degrade American ideals"? But a more sensible question is this. "What are the people of the old American stock doing to perpetuate their standards and ideals"? "What are they doing to teach them to the immigrants"? "What are they doing to inspire the immigrants with their civic ideals"? They cannot do much to teach or inspire the immigrant, when they move away and leave him severely

alone. The segregation of the immigrant from the native means that old customs and standards are maintained, that there is little contact with the immigrant,except that necessary for business or working relations,which means that the immigrant is kept apart from the influences that would mould him into an American citizen,and that the tendencies toward assimilation and Americanization are small. They do not come into close contact with Americans in their work or homes . Why should they be acquainted with American institutions,or adopt American standards? It has been well said:"Isolation destroys and deteriorates. Fusion is the law of progress".

On the whole,however,assimilation is going on very rapidly. In spite of much that isolates there is also much that tends to fusion. The contagion of the American spirit is remarkable. The employment of the immigrant in industries and as a servant;his residence among the natives, and his association with them;the tendency to take on American customs and habits,and the exercise of political rights has a great deal to do with his assimilation to our ways and life. In a general way it may be said,that the assimilating influences are social. Even if he cannot talk in our tongue,he talks with those of his own race, who do speak and understand English, and though he cannot understand words he does understand acts,and the contagion

of example is very marked. His own newspapers and his conversations with his fellows serve to reflect American ideas. His children,too,soon learn to talk English, and what they bring home from the public schools and the streets affects the parents. The influence of foreign priests and pastors in bringing about permanency of residence,property owning and home making is also a factor of some importance. It tends to put the immigrant into a social environment that vitally affects his thought and character.

Social and economic causes play no little part in the goings and comings, as well as in the doings and the character of men. These social and economic causes being changed the character of a people may change. Improved economic conditions remove the causes for many crimes. A thievish people may become honest,if taken out of an environment where it is impossible to get enough to eat,and put into an environment of plenty. An immoral people may become chaste,and a chaste people immoral, if they are put into environments that encourage either one or the other. It is said,for example,that the Greeks at home are chaste,but that in American surroundings,without their wives,they become unchaste. The foreigner has his faults,and too often does not make the most of his great opportunities,but he is as clay in the hands of the American,who can make of him what he pleases.

The foreigner's lack of eminence is often due precisely to his social conditions. Prof.Commons says: "Ability is not identical with eminence.Ability is the product of ancestry and training.Eminence is the accident of social conditions" (1) The immigrant has hereditary ability,but it has been submerged by his environment and has had no chance to develop and express itself. Here he is placed in a new environment and given a chance to express himself. Different nationalities are here subject to the same conditions and each race has a chance to make its characteristics dominant.The rapidity of race assimilation is proved by the absence of racial domination,where given races are numerically in the ascendency. Dr.Steiner says:"The present immigrants respond quickly to the American higher standards of living,and in many instances much more quickly than some of the older groups responded." (2) The immigrant's adaptability is much greater than could have been expected. He is subjected to a new environment under strongly influential conditions,and on the whole rapidly takes up Democratic ideas. If his adoption of American ideas and ways seems slow,it is certainly marked enough to promise much for the future,and we must learn to be patient.

The admixture of races also becomes real by intermarriages,especially in the second and third gen-

(1) Op.cit. (2) "On the trail of the Immigrant".

erations.Prof.Boas in a recent volume on "The Mind of Primitive Man" concludes as a result of his investigations,that we have no reason to fear the effects of the intermingling of race stocks in America. Prof.Emil Finch presents some facts to show that race blending produces a type superior in fertility,vitality and cultural worth to one or both of the parent stocks. He says :" The mating of dissimilars favors a combination in the offspring of the strongest characteristics of both parents and fits them the better for human society".It is frequently maintained that a nation composed of a mixed stock is superior in mind and body to one of single and homogeneous stock.

There are no pure races still existing.The Aryans are a mixed race.The peoples of Europe are a hodgepodge of different stocks. Racial intermarriages are not destructive in their effects. Many highly distinguished men have an ancestry of a mongrel sort. Robert Browning was the product of four strains of European blood.Wendell Phillips and Phillips Brooks,though of Anglo-Saxon stock,had a drop of Hebrew blood in their veins.Who can say that it was not that drop of Hebrew blood that gave them the prophetic impulse! Nature herself puts a final veto on the blending of blood that has become badly vitiated.Prof.Commons says:"Race differences are established in the very blood and physical constitution.

They are most difficult to eradicate,and they yield only to the slow processes of centuries". (1) On the other hand Dr.Steiner speaking from actual and long continued experience with the immigrants says:"If immigration has done nothing else,it has proved that few race characteristics,if any,are fixed." (2) Race characteristics regarded as "biological are found to be sociological,that is on the outside of the race,not on the inside".(2) One,who goes among those,who have had the full advantage of our environment,of our standard of living,of education and of an enlightened religion "will find what we call race characteristics,about obliterated from the faces of even the first generation". (2) Those,who have had the best advantages,the same advantages which we have had,have largely lost the racial marks.Dr.Steiner was on one occasion the guest of a Woman's Club in the Middle West,and was to speak on "Immigration".After his address refreshments were served.The mistress of the home, a lady of Puritan descent,told him she had an Hungarian maid,whom she wished him to see.Two young women were serving the guests.One was a typical American girl,with almost a Gibson face.The face of the other showed Slavic characteristics. Later it turned out that the Gibson-like girl was the maid from Hungary,and the Slavic looking girl the daughter of the house.

(1) Op.Cit. (2) "On the Trail of the Immigrant".

In Austria-Hungary is a mixture of people side by side, sharing certain interests in common, but never wholly mingled into a national type. A race-map of Austria-Hungary shows at once the most complicated social mosaic of all modern nations, a juxta-position of hostile races and fixity as well as diversity of language. The German, the Slav, the Magyar and the Jew live side by side and yet do not blend. The Magyars are the Asiatic conquerors, who over-ran Europe ten centuries ago, and, being repulsed by the Teutons of the West, established themselves on the Slavs in the valley and on the plains of the Danube. The Slavs are the conquered people. The Germans and the Magyars own the land, make the laws and manage their administration. Economic and political inequality make a blending of these races impossible in the old world. We are hoping to accomplish on American soil and under American conditions, what has been impossible in Austria-Hungary, the actual blending of these races. There is good reason to think that we shall not fail.

These races bring with them many desirable qualities. Prof. Ripley says: "They have many excellent physical qualities, in spite of unfavorable environment and political oppression for centuries. We receive, in the main the best, the most progressive and alert of the peasantry, which these lands recently tapped are able to offer". There seems to be but little doubt that the native American stock is falling off in numbers and in virility.

From the point of view of replenishing the quantity and quality of the stock physically, the coming of these peoples is significant. We need the blood of the peoples fresh from the soil to make strong men for the coming generations. We cannot expect the ethnic problem to be solved without much struggle, stress and strain, but there is good reason to expect that the ethnic differences will disappear ultimately, if we have patience, sympathy, a sense of justice and provide the right social environment. Already the immigrants are being transformed into Americans.

The Scotch-Irish race furnishes a good example of race amalgamation. "They have always been pioneers and men of action. They are very little Scotch and less Irish. They are the most composite of all the people of the British Isles. They are called Scots because they lived in Scotia, and they are called Irish because they moved to Ireland. Geography and not ethnology has given them their name. They are a mixed race, through whose veins runs the Celtic blood of the primitive Scot and Pict, the primitive Briton, the primitive Irish, but with a large admixture of the later Dane, Norwegian, Saxon and Angle. Compounded for five hundred years this remarkable amalgam of races, the Scotch-Irish, more than any other race served as the amalgam to produce out of divergent races the new race, the American."(1)

(1) Grant, Article, No. American Review for April 1912.

Adapting the words of another;"What a people we might be,if we would mingle all the virtues that the nations bring us;if we would appropriate all that the Jew brings of spiritual vision and cut down his business ardor and craftiness,by our own emphasis of the nobler spiritual gift;if we would receive the Slav's virgin strength and plant upon it all that we of older civilizations have learned to hold most precious;if we would emulate the German's thoughtfulness and thoroughness, and the seriousness and loftiness of the Scandinavian's mind and heart; and,if,finally we would take the Hungarian's devotion to his native land and make it burn with just such a true fire upon the altar of this country"! (1)

Long ago our American poet Longfellow wrote of the settlement of New England,that God had sifted three kingdoms to find the wheat for the planting.In this twentieth century God is sifting all nations and planting the sifted wheat on American soil.

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(1) Adapted from Dr.Steiner,"On the Trail of the Immigrant". p.124.

Addenda.

Dr.Steiner says,in "On the Trail of the Immigrant",page 308:"Something has so wrought upon me that in spite of the fact that I came to this country in my young manhood,I look upon America as my fatherland.That same power is still active,still strong enough to repeat the miracle of yesterday;for I am no better than these millions,who are regarded as a menace. I came here with the same blood as theirs and the same inheritance of good or ill,bequeathed by my race;yet I feel myself completely one with all which this country possesses, that is worth living for and dying for.With millions of these new Americans,I say today that which we shall continue to say,whether it fares well or ill with our adopted country:'Thy people shall be my people,and thy God, my God' ".

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*** Attention is called to three articles of great significance on these subjects,by Prof.Edward A.Ross in the Century Magazine for Nov. and Dec. 1913 and Jan.1914. The writer of this thesis has read two of these since finishing the foregoing. Prof.Ross evidently favors restriction and is not very optimistic as to the results-economic,social and political-of the influx of immigrants.

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